1: Karsten--250-251 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
674, 177 (1928-29)

"Theft is unknown in the social life of the Jibaros, at least among the tribes unaffected by Christian civilization. To steal [251] from a person who has never offended him is clearly at variance with that strong sense of justice which is one of the moral characteristics of the Jibaro. Unfortunately it is otherwise with the half-civilized and now more or less degenerated Canelos Indians, among whom I heard of several serious cases of theft."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Rights, Offenses, and Sanctions

It is considered wrong to kill or injure other persons within the tribe unless it is to punish someone for a similar act, in which case precise equivalence in retribution is justified. Most deaths are considered to be cases of homicide, whether through actual physical violence (including poisoning), bewitching, or by avenging souls (*muisak*) of the dead. While no retaliation is attempted in the case of deaths believed to be caused by *muisak*, retaliation by assassination is definitely considered to be in order when a member of one's conjugal family is murdered through physical violence or witchcraft.

According to Jívaro norms, approved sanctions are an approximation of equivalent retaliation against the guilty party himself or a member of his immediate family, such as a brother, wife, or child. Thus the sanction against homicide is homicide. Although such sanctions are directed primarily at adult males, partially because it is not considered particularly honorable or desirable to kill women or children within the tribe, the punitive assassins may kill their intended victim's wife or child if they fail to find him at home when they make their vengeance raid. It is also considered completely proper to kill a woman or child if the act is in retaliation for the previous murder of a woman or child. Great pains are usually taken to kill only one person in retaliation for one murder. This situation of intra-tribal retaliation on a one-to-one basis should be clearly distinguished from the head-taking raids against the Achuara tribe, which involve killing as many of the "aliens" as possible.

If there is a considerable lapse of time before administering a sanction, the guilty party may, after a few years, send

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

684 Clearly defined norms exist regarding the inheritance of
685 both wives and material goods, although disputes regarding
428 the latter category tend to be minor. The deceased man's
587 eldest brother has the right to inherit his wife (wives). If
593 there is no surviving brother of the deceased man, then his eldest parallel cousin is entitled to inherit the wife (wives). If the deceased man lacks sons of post-puberty age, his eldest brother also inherits his possessions. Otherwise, the eldest son receives these goods. There is a mild feeling that the eldest brother inheriting plural wives, or the eldest son inheriting material possessions, should distribute some of his new wealth to each of his younger brothers as they pass puberty.

587 Violation of the levirate, the right of a man to marry his
684 deceased younger brother's widow, is a serious and common offense since there is great competition for recent widows. If a man marries a widow without first paying a shotgun to her deceased husband's eldest brother, or to the eldest male parallel cousin if there are no brothers, then the eldest brother or parallel cousin has the right to kill him.

On the other hand, if a brother or parallel cousin of the deceased man takes her away after she has moved into the household of a new husband, the latter has the right to kill the
[628] abductor as a wife-stealer. Wife-stealing is a capital offense and leads, as does presumed bewitching, to many of the killings and feuds.

685 A woman's property is inherited by her eldest daughter. If
428 there is no daughter, the deceased girl's mother inherits the
593 possessions. When there is neither a surviving daughter nor mother, a sister of the deceased girl may have the possessions
[587] if she asks for them. Otherwise, the widower keeps the things to give to a future wife.

685 Offenses involving material property are not common.
• 674 Stealing, for example, is virtually unheard of with the excep-
727

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

685 tion of household looting following the assassination of an
727 enemy. In such cases, the assassins are practicing behavior
which is supposed to be reserved for acts of war against non-
• [674] *untsuri iuarä*. Such behavior is thus in the nature of an additional indignity inflicted upon the victim's household, and is
685 normally considered very bad form within the tribe. In-
428 heritance of property does not always go entirely smoothly, however, because younger siblings may be angered if the eldest does not share some of the inheritance. Since, however, the eldest has the legal right to keep all the parent's possessions, the younger siblings do not have any recourse to any formalized sanctions. They usually just refuse to visit the elder brother.

562 A man's property consists of the house he has built, the
422 artifacts that he has made or has received as gifts, the game
423 and fish that he has caught, and the crops (mainly maize) that he has raised. A woman's property likewise consists of the artifacts she has made or received as gifts, wild foods she has gathered, the crops that she is cultivating or has harvested, the section of the garden in which she raises them (if there is another wife), and the pigs and chickens that she raises. A woman may also own a pottery clay deposit if it is near her house and she was its discoverer and excavator.

423 Land, or natural resources, is not owned individually or communally, except in the sense that a specific garden or part of a garden is owned by a woman as long as it is being cultivated, usually no more than about five years. Even in this case, it is the capital improvement of the land that is owned, in the form of the garden, not the land in its natural state. No territorial boundaries are recognized for hunting, fishing,[1] or other purposes on a tribal, neighborhood, or household level except in one type of apparently very rare situation. This was a reported case of two related men living